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TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON.

I.—*Notes on the Stature of Lapps.* By J. F. CAMPBELL, Esq.,
Islay.

[*Letter to the President, read January 9th, 1866.*]

To John Crawford, Esq., President of the Ethnological Society.

Niddry Lodge, Kensington, W.

MY DEAR SIR,—I send you a few notes from my journal, together with the measurements which I took at your request last autumn. The object of my journey was to examine the watershed of Russian Lappland for marks of glacial action. My notes contain little information on ethnology, because a Lapp is almost as rare and as hard to find and to catch as a wild deer. I have seen a great many of them in other parts of Scandinavia, but I confine myself now to the information which I gathered for you on my last trip.

The first Lapp I saw this year was an old woman near Laurgaard in Gulbrandsdal, on the 21st of July. I knew her to be a Lapp by her face, and gave her the Lapp salutation, "Bourist", to which she replied at once. She spoke Norwegian, and told me that she and her tribe frequent the neighbourhood of Røraas, where they keep a herd of deer. She and a man were wandering exactly like "tinkers" in Scotland, camping by the road-side, and working at odd jobs about the farm-houses. This tribe is the furthest south in Scandinavia. I did not measure the old lady, but she was very little, had very marked features, and a remnant of national costume. These, like Gypsies, are supposed to be fortune-tellers and conjurors.

The next specimen was seen on the 29th of July, and represents the most western tribe in Scandinavia. He was a Sea Finn in full dress, and came on board at the southern end of the Loffotens. These islands answer in position to the western isles

of Scotland ; so this man is equivalent to a Barra Celt. The man was a little higher than my shoulder, eyes blue, hair light, cheek bones broad and square, eyes set with an upward turn in the corners ; dress, a blue frock with a broad belt fastened round the loins. He speaks Lapp and Norse, and says he has fished cod for three winters off the islands. His tribe travel over the mountains to Sweden with a large herd of deer. A Fjeld Finn (mountain Lapp) of his acquaintance once came with his herd to the Loffotens, but the climate did not suit. There was little moss and much snow in winter, which, from alternating damp and warmth, and frost, freezes so hard, that the deer cannot clear it away with their feet and horns as they do elsewhere. The Lapp having got as far south as he could, moved back and swam his herd over all the sounds till he got to the narrows, where he crossed to Offoten. There the winter's snow is dry and dusty, and his beasts could scrape up a moss harvest. This range of wandering is equivalent in direction to a migration from Aberdeen to Barra, and back from Barra to Aberdeen ; but the distance traversed is far greater. It is about equal to ten degrees on the meridian. He used no boat, but crossed on water "skidor," things like snow shoes, on which men stand and paddle themselves over narrow sounds. A considerable number of families wander about this tract, just within the Arctic circle, and close to the largest of the Norwegian glacier districts. I may remark that a tribe of Indians lately (1864) crossed the Straits of Belleisle, which are in the latitude of the Straits of Dover and about as wide, on sea ice. They landed in Newfoundland to hunt wild reindeer, which there abound. They used no boats, and some were armed with bows and arrows.

July 30.—Measured a Lapp on board, near Offoten : four feet eight, dark blueish eyes, small scanty beard, age fifty, strong, quick, active, very dark brown hair, slightly touched with grey high cheek bones, narrow chin.

July 31.—At Tromsö are many Lapps and a camp with deer. Did not visit them myself, as I had seen them more than once. An English party who visited the camp took the following heights :—

Man	4 ft. 11½ ins.
Do.	4 10
Woman	4 6

From this point northwards the population is scanty, and consists of three distinct races. 1. "Quains," who are Finlanders, and farmers, who have migrated westwards, and who still migrate in large numbers. They cross from Sweden and Russia in spring to fish in the open sea off Norway during the winter, and return in autumn to look after crops. Their yearly migration is equal to

about ten degrees of latitude. In this they resemble the Highlanders of the west of Scotland, who have fixed habitations, but nevertheless wander a great deal in search of employment. The Quains are a tall fair-haired race, very persevering, hard to move, but once started very hard to stop. Their language has a strong relationship to Lapp.

2. Norwegians, about whom nothing need be said. They and their language are very like Scotchmen and Scotch. They wander a great deal, but they use roads, carriages, and steam-boats.

3. Lapps or Finns, who are quick, active, clever, idle, and avaricious, very easily moved and turned aside. They will not work even for a high bribe unless they chance to fancy the job; but, when they choose, they can and do work hard. They carry heavy back loads for others, fish in the sea, in the rivers, and in the lakes, shoot with very bad rifles, snare birds, row and pole boats, and some even cultivate grass. The race is no longer pure, but the purest specimens of the breed are to be found amongst the mountain herdsmen. Along the coast, Lapps, Finns, Quains, and Norwegians, marry and cross, wear each other's costumes and speak each others language, but, with all this crossing, the Lapp characteristics are as easily recognised as the marked features of a Celt are in England.

At Hammerfest, August 2, saw a great many Lapps in full costume. All were little, most bandy legged, the women were shy and frightened, and ran away from the English party, who landed from the steamer and walked ten abreast through the town, followed by a mixed crowd of Russians, Quains, Lapps, and sailors from all parts.

August 3.—Saw a Lapp camp on Maggerö, the most northern land in Europe. Three smoked tents were pitched close to the sea beneath a cliff. This tribe have deer, and boats, and live partly by fishing. They winter on the main land, and swim their deer over the sounds. The temperature of the sea was 44°, air 46°, and snow lay in patches close to the water. Tropical beans are commonly found in this region, which proves the existence of a warm current, which makes winter fishing possible, and keeps the sea clear of ice at all times.

The steamer runs up a number of fjords hereabouts, and many natives come on board. They wore the Tana dress; square caps, blue frocks embroidered with stripes of many colours, tight leggings, and comagas. These are peaked shoes stuffed with hay. They were generally fair and tolerably well grown, being half breeds between Quains and Lapps. The water in these fjords was 52°, air, at 8 a.m. 13th, 48°.

A Lapp schoolmaster was on board this day. His father was a Nomad, who died at the age of ninety-four. He speaks Lapp,

Quain, and Norsk, and has a smattering of Greek, Latin, German, and French ; he knows something of geography and "philosophy," and kept up a hot fire of words with a talking Norwegian who was on board. He gave as good as he got. Height five feet one, eyes set straight and blue, nose aquiline, forehead square and well made, not very high, cheek bones broad, chin small. Generally he looked rather like a dapper little Frenchman, and his manner was like that of a mercurial Gaul. He was formerly interpreter to the courts, but he never could be made to put questions or give answers accurately. His own chatter always broke in, and he was dismissed from that service. This trait broke out in his conversations with me. When I asked for a Lapp word, he answered with a long, rapid, rambling discourse upon the value of some letter in the word, and so I let him chatter, and bow, and grin, and watched him curiously. I was told that he had taken a vast fancy to me, probably as a good listener. He shook hands warmly at parting. Lector Friis, Professor of Lapp in the college at Christiania, was on board. He has more knowledge of Lapps than any man I ever met, and probably knows more about them than any one now living. He has a large collection of excellent photographs made this year, 1865, and he has also a large collection of popular tales in Lapp vernacular, which it is to be hoped he will publish. I mention him, as the President of the Ethnological Society may wish to cultivate the acquaintance of a scientific Norwegian gentleman. At Wardö, the town is built on a low isthmus between low islands of flagstone. The isthmus is made of coral sand and shells. The church is built on this bed, and graves are dug in coral. It is manifest that the whole coast is rising, and according to numerous records it has risen within historical times. In digging the foundation of a new house by the road-side, the men found a deer's horn, a whale's bone, and a horn spoon, about six feet under the surface, and about thirty above the sea. The upper ground is made of layers of earth and fish-bones, flesh-bones, and ashes. The fashion of the day is to build conical huts of turf and sticks, and to throw the debris of meals and fires on the floor. The hut is only occupied during part of the year, and it is easily damaged. The fall of a few huts and the debris of a few hungry generations would soon make a heap six feet deep, and a street of Lapps would make the "formation" under which the spoon was found. It was black as ebony from age and peat, and the fashion of it is the modern fashion. The fort has a stone with the date 1737. I mention the spoon as a case of modern kitchen-midden growth with a date marked by the rise of land, and recorded by written documents and oral tradition.

August 6, Sud Waranger, lots of Lapps came on board. Measured some :

5 ft.	1½ ins.	
5	1	
5	1	
5	4½	
5	4	
5	4	a mountaineer
4	5½	a woman

Hair black, dark brown and waving, fair and curled. Eyes blue, one man brown. All yellow-skinned. They were strong, square built, bandy-legged, quick and lively, full of fun, curiosity, and chaff. One of our party went up a rope hand over hand, the Lapps followed suit immediately, and did it well.

Pasvik, August 7.—Saw the Russian Ländsmand pass up the river with three boats manned by "Skoltter Finns." The men poled up the rapids with great skill and power, waded and dragged, and finally hauled boats and baggage over large stones to pass the fall. They were all little men, but very strongly built. One little fellow was forty-two inches round the chest, and made like a pocket Hercules. This tribe is generally fair, with light blue eyes. The Russian official paid nothing, but ordered whom he would to work for government; I could get nobody to work for me, though I offered double pay.

August 11.—On the shore of Enare Lake, fell in with a tribe of pure Lapps. The man had hardly any beard, his hair was long, black, straight, and shiny, his eyes dark brown, his face very marked, pointed cheek bones, angular eyes, and small chin; his figure slender, spare, stringy rather than muscular. The women were like him, but fatter and very ugly. They were well and neatly dressed in their costume. They had deer in the neighbourhood and boats on the lake shore. They sold dried fish to a party of Quains, who were travelling back to the Baltic side. The Quains were big, burly, noisy, hardy, fair men; the Lapps quiet and grave. The women kept quietly working at comagas, while the men sauntered about amongst the travellers, and we left them busily working and idling. Their only shelter was a sail. Along the banks of this lake are numerous Lapp camps and a few fixed houses; at the southern end are farms where corn is grown. These are probably the most northern of all corn fields, about 69° N.

From these settlements we crossed the watershed with a lot of porters and a reindeer with a pack-saddle. On the hill, a herd of deer came about us, and two were caught and harnessed. They were tamer than horses turned out to graze on a highland moor, and they worked as patiently as any ordinary beast of burden. We saw no more Lapps on the course of the Kemi river, which we followed to the sea. The Quains make their travelling diet of rye bread and butter, and sleep on the ground.

The climate in which Lapps flourish is that which suits deer and grows deer pasture. In this unusually fine summer, the frosts began in Kemi Lapp-mark as soon as the sun begun to set. Water was frozen in our kettle at the south end of the Enare lake, about lat. 69° N., on the 12th of August, and thenceforth it froze every night till we got to the Gulf of Bothnia, lat. 66° (August 27th). In the day, the heat was intense. Close to the sea, a day's march from the Waranger fjord, thermometer was 82° in the shade. On the 9th of August it was 78°; and 80° on the grass on the 8th, at the sea-side.

The vegetation on the high ground between Enare and the Baltic, at about 1200 to 1400 feet, is grey moss, three inches long at least; walking on it is like treading on brittle snow. Below this region is a zone of birch and scattered pines, and these lower down form vast forests with marshy ground. Travelling in summer is on foot, and by water on the rivers; in winter with deer over every thing in polks. It is said that the Russian government are about to make a road to Enare.* About 1000 Quains crossed and recrossed to and from the fishing this year, dragged by deer driven by Lapps. If the traffic is so great now, the road will be used. The country is made of drift, chiefly sand and rolled stones. Bare rocks are few and far between, and much weathered.

After travelling through Finland, it seems to me that the Lapps are a very different race, or that the Fins or Quains or Karelsk have been crossed with Scandinavians, Germans, or Russians. Any how, the Lapps are a marked race amongst Europeans, so marked that a good specimen could hardly escape notice anywhere.

The following extract from "Frost and Fire," vol. I., p. 312, (Edinburgh, 1865), gives some further information as to the habits of the Lapps, who wander from sea to sea about the Arctic circle in Scandinavia:—

"Saturday, 25th.—Heavy rain all day. For something to do, sketched the clerk's daughter, who was a very pretty Swedish maiden. In the evening, the parson told me his early history. How he lost his father when quite a child, and how his mother, 'like a sea-bird with her young, flitted to the coast to Pitea.' How, when he went to college, he struggled with poverty; and how, at last, having vanquished all difficulties, he returned to his native valley a priest. 'And when I saw the hills again that I remembered so well, and the peaks that I had not seen for so

* Enare träsk, or lake, is one of the largest in Europe. It is very incorrectly drawn on maps. It is full of large islands, and about a hundred miles long.

many years, I don't know how I felt,' said the worthy man, 'but I began to greet' (grota)."

"August, 1850, *Quickjok in Swedish Lappland*.—The natives are a strange race. They were coming down from their summer haunts at this season, and we went to visit them on the way to a famous fall and iron mountain, which we never reached.

"The last discovery, April 1864, which bears on "the antiquity of man," proves that tribes, which once lived in caves in Southern France, fed on large reindeer. Their bone implements have been found, and some are in the British Museum. The ashes of their fires remain; the debris of their meals are there—the bones of reindeer, cracked to get at the marrow, sucked, and then thrown to be gnawed by dogs. As these facts bear upon climate, the ways of living Lapps have some geological interest.

"According to Whalenberg, a famous Swedish naturalist quoted by Von Buch, the level at which a mean annual temperature of 34° prevails limits the growth of plants fit for reindeer pasture, so that Lapp camps are seldom found above this line. If so, the mean temperature in France was not lower than 34° when the old inhabitants ate reindeer venison.

"According to the same author, a mean temperature, estimated at $32\frac{2}{3}^{\circ}$, now prevails at a height of 4100 feet near Quickjok. A little further west, on the Norwegian side, 3100 feet is the level at which only a few spots of rock peer through snow in summer. Two thousand feet higher, at an estimated mean temperature of 30° , a very few lichens grow.*

"The low limit of the fjeld Finns is the sea-level, about the North Cape. In Sweden the deer only come down in winter. There is plenty of moss pasture near the sea, but a certain fly drives deer and men to the snow. Further south, wild reindeer keep on the high tops, about Romsdal. Tame deer are kept as far south as Bergen, but they do not flourish in that wet climate, and they are kept on the high fjeld. They never come down to the sea or to rich grass pasture, but seem to prefer cold, and moss which grows in cold regions. If the French deer were of the same nature, their existence proves a cold climate in France.

"There were plenty of deer, for they were eaten in large numbers. They could not flourish without plenty of moss. Moss does not grow abundantly without cold. The presence of reindeer seems to indicate a mean temperature of 36° , instead of 55° —the climate of Jockmok in central France. There must be a reason for the change in temperature. Whatever the past may have been, this is a sketch from the life, of a tribe of herdsmen whose herds are deer, whose châteaux are tents, and whose summer

* Von Buch's "Travels", 308.

and winter pastures are never far from snow. Similar tribes may have come down from the snows of the Alps and Pyrenees.*

“By the time we got up to the kotas, we had passed through some sharp showers. The Lapps had now arrived, and a tent was pitched beside the conical hut. In the kota I found a dirty old woman and a lot of dirty children sitting round a fire made in the middle of a ring of stones, and looking very picturesque in the half light that streamed down through the chimney. There was a heap of gear and human creatures, iron pots and wooden bowls, dogs and deerskins, piled in admirable confusion; and the mother was engaged in a hunt amongst the tangled locks of the youngest of her brood. Not liking this neighbourhood, went out and made my own shelter, and got on a greatcoat, for it was cold and misty and comfortless after the warm glen. Tried the tent, and found a very fine-looking Lapp woman sitting on a heap of deerskins, serving out coffee and reindeer cream to the clocker with a quaint silver spoon. She had silver bracelets and a couple of silver rings; and altogether, with her black hair and dark brown eyes glancing in the firelight, she looked eastern and magnificent. Set to work with the paint-box instant, but she would not sit still for a moment, and it was almost dark. Gave it up, and went out amongst the deer, which had gathered round the camp to be milked. There were about six hundred in the herd, and some old stags were quite magnificent. One had fourteen points on one brow antler, and about forty in all. He looked quite colossal in the evening mist. A small imp of a boy, about three feet high, and a child just able to toddle, were wandering about amongst the deer. The boy was amusing himself by catching the largest stags with a lasso, to pull the loose velvet from their antlers. He never missed his throw, and when he had the noose round the beast's neck, it was grand to see him set his heels on the ground and haul himself in, hand over hand, till he got the noose round the stag's nose. Then he had him safe and quiet, with the nose and neck tied together, and then they posed for a picture of savage life. The smaller imp was practising on the calves and hinds, and screaming at them in emulation of the bigger brother. He kept kicking the big stags which lay on the ground with the most perfect familiarity. After I got packed into my nest, the whole herd almost walked over me. I heard their heels clicking beside my head, as they went grunting like a herd of swine. A Lapp followed, shouting a deep guttural *Ho!* at intervals, and several dogs followed yelping at his heels. It was a queer feeling to lie there on the bare hill-side, and hear the rushing sound of

* Reindeer do live without moss in the present climate of London, at the Zoological Gardens, but they are prisoners.

their feet sweep through the low scrubby brush, and gradually fade away as they trotted off to the sound of Ho! Presently came the patter of rain, and the sough of a rushing wind that shook the willow-bushes, and swept moaning over the hill. My low shelter was warm and dry, and I slept soundly.

"27th.—Awakened by hearing the Lapps chattering; poked my head out, and found everything wrapped in thick mist. Pulled my head in again to brood over my ill luck, and gather courage for a plunge into air. Rolled out at last, and scrambled into a kota, where I found Marcus smoking as usual. All the children were scrambling about their mother, who was getting ready for milking the deer. Got some food, packed up, and talked about this unattainable place, Autsik. No one who was at home could find the way in such a mist; so there was nothing for it but to wait for clear weather, or the father of the family, who was away. Watched the day's proceedings till the mist changed into heavy rain; when I pitched my tent again, to keep a dry bed. Spent the day in sketching and studying Lapps.

"The rain came through the tent, and in the hut it was impossible even to sit on the ground without bending forward. The children would look over my shoulder, to my terror, so sketching was not easy. There were five dogs, three children, the old woman, Marcus, and myself; and all day long, the handsome lady from next door, and her husband, and a couple of quaint mangy looking old fellows, kept popping in to see how the stranger got on. The kota itself was a cone of birch sticks and green turf, about seven feet high, and twelve or fourteen in diameter. It was close quarters, but the scene was worth the discomfort. No one seemed to care a rap for rain, or fear colds, more than the deer. Breakfast consisted of milk and cheese and boiled fish; and whenever any dish had been used, the old dame carefully wiped it out with her crooked forefinger, and then licked the finger and every attainable place in the dish itself. It was wonderful to see her dexterity, and to hear her talk while she polished the dish. When one of the children spilt some milk on its deerskin dress, it was all gathered and licked up with the same tongue which found time to scold the offender.

"Dinner was reindeer's flesh boiled. The children cracked the bones on the stones after they had polished the outside, and they sucked up the marrow; then the dogs, who had not dared to steal, were called in their turn, and got the scraps. Wooden bowls were set apart for the dogs. There was an extra meal after dinner on the arrival of papa, who came dripping like a river-god, with a supply of bread, butter, and salt fish, stowed in a leathern-bag. This was evidently an unusual treat, so it was all consumed. The father was a fine man for a Lapp, forty years

old, and five feet high ; he had walked fourteen miles in a deluge, but he only wrung his tall conical blue cap to keep the water from trickling down his nose, and then he sat down to watch his children enjoy the feast, while a brother and a young girl, who came with him, joined our circle. We were decidedly too thick, so I went next door. There I found nobody at home but a black dog. Seated myself on a heap of deerskins to have a quiet pipe, and was startled by a loud Lapp exclamation, which came from an old fellow on whom I had sat. Got up laughing, and made Marcus brew coffee for all hands.

"The tent was about as big as the kota, made of striped stuff, so coarse that I could almost see through it, as through a veil.

"It was patched here and there, and smoked brown near the top. It did not touch the ground anywhere, and at the smallest disturbance three dogs plunged out barking. They popped in when the row was over, and curled themselves up amongst the gear. The door was a canvas slip, like a boat's jib, with cross-sticks fastened to it ; and it was to windward, so that it could not blow open. No one could come in without stooping, kneeling, and turning sideways, and I constantly stuck fast when I tried. The canvas was stretched by poles, which were joined at the top with considerable skill. This dwelling amounts to a large umbrella, for it gives little shelter from the wind. The life must be healthy ; red blood was glowing under the brown skins of old and young, and they were bright-eyed, clear, healthy, flat-nosed, square-headed, black-haired, merry beings. The owners of the tent were married in winter, and had lots of gear, silver ornaments, bone contrivances, one of which was for weaving coloured woollen bands ; baskets of ingenious shapes, very well made, of birch and fir roots variously coloured. They all wore long knives, and the newly-married couple smoked and drank coffee at intervals all day.

"Slept in my own tent, nevertheless, and heard the rain pattering close to my nose, while the wind shook the wands till I thought the cover would fly off to Norway.

"28th.—Cold, wet, and nasty weather. Found the Lapps getting up, the old woman licking the dishes for breakfast, the father smoking while putting on the shoes of his youngest child. He first spread out a hatful of fine hay made from a particular kind of grass, and then he tossed it on the stones beside the fire till it was perfectly dry. Then the boy was seized by the leg and laid on his back, while foot and hay were crammed and stuffed into a miniature Lapp shoe. It was a work of some difficulty to make all fit nicely, and bind it all neatly round the leg and the leather leggings. They made a good group, the father and son, and a black puppy that would nibble the boy's rosy cheeks as he lay sprawling on the ground.

“After breakfast, gave up my trip to this fall, as the weather seemed fairly broken. Got under weigh at twelve in a fair blink, and walked a little to one side of my train, admiring. There were two Lapps and the man from Niavvi with my goods on their backs, and a picturesque old volunteer with a birch-bark knapsack strapped on the top of his deerskin shirt. We soon picked up a boy with a milk-barrel slung on his back, and each of us carried a long pole. We marched single file over the fjeld, plodding through bog and muir till we got to a second camp. Here were two tents and a portable larder pitched under a high rock for shelter, with the first of the birch trees close beside them for fire; a burn brawling past for water, and distant peeps of forest and lake, low hills and flat plains, peering through the edge of the mist, for a landscape.

“All our party laid down their loads, and one by one they slid into the largest tent. I followed, and sat down, and said, ‘Puarist,’ and lit my pipe like the rest. There were about a dozen of all ages seated round the fire besides our party. The tent was far larger than those which I had seen. The people were clean and well dressed, and they were enjoying a cup of coffee all round when we came in. The cream was served out with a silver spoon by a young lady, who carefully licked it, and tucked it into a bag which hung round her neck like a necklace. That done, she went on weaving a very pretty basket-work bottle. Another really pretty woman, with large dark eyes, sat in a corner making a garment of some sort, while a miniature Lapp, with its arms round her neck, peeped over her shoulder, and one a size larger stood beside her and stared. There was no time to draw, so took a mental picture, bid them *Te-at-ast-ain*, and slid out as we came. The whole of the black pack plunged out by their own way, and barked at us. The missus, sliding out after us, went to her travelling store—a bundle of clothes on a triangle of poles—took out some dainty, and gave it to the boy with a kiss. We took the same open order, and marched down hill to the old route.

“These Swedish Lapps are small of stature, very hardy, good sturdy walkers, utterly careless about wind and weather. They are curious, but not so curious as the Swedes. They are not free with their goods; they are not hospitable. No Lapp ever offered me milk or coffee when he helped himself. They gave what I asked for, and I paid; but other hill-folk offer their best to the stranger.

“After a pretty long experience of Lapps elsewhere, and after reading the accounts of other travellers, this first impression has been confirmed. No Lapp has ever offered me so much as a scrap of food, or a drop of milk; but every Lapp I know was ready to

sell anything, and greedy for silver, which is hoarded and hidden under ground.

“From this place dropped down to Lulea, where the usual life of a hard-drinking northern town seems to go on. Thence steamed to Sundsvall with a strange mixed crew—a Swede, Whalenburg, who had spent seven years in South Africa, a German butterfly-hunter from Berlin, who had been up to Quickjok before me, and many other travellers and travelled men.”

It is somewhat remarkable that traditions still survive in the Highlands of Scotland which seem to be derived from the habits of Scotch tribes like Lapps in our day. Stories are told in Sutherland about a “witch” who milked deer:—a “ghost” once became acquainted with a forester, and at his suggestion packed all her plenishing on a herd of deer, when forced to flit by another and a bigger “ghost”: the green mounds in which “fairies” are supposed to dwell closely resemble the outside of Lapp huts. The fairies themselves are not represented as airy creatures in gauze wings and spangles; but they appear in traditions as small cunning people, eating and drinking, living close at hand in their green mounds, stealing children and cattle, milk and food, from their bigger neighbours. They are uncanny, but so are Lapps. My own opinion is that these Scotch traditions relate to the tribes who made kitchen-middens and lake dwellings in Scotland, and that they were allied to Lapps.